

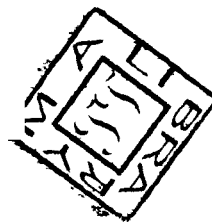
ASSAM POLITICS 1976-1981

DS 367

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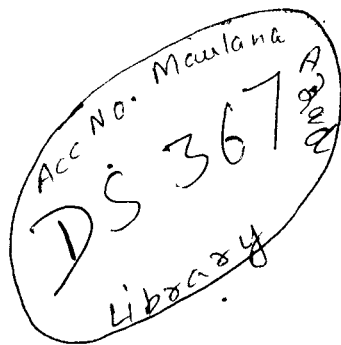
I express my deep sense of gratitude to my able Supervisor, Mr. Siraj-ud-Din, Reader, Department of Library, Aligarh Muslim University Aligarh for continuously guided me during the entire course of preparation of this work, but for which this work would not have been completed.



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(Nazir Ahmad Kaul)
M.Lib. Sc. (Std.)



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PART I

DESCRIPTIVE

*

INTRODUCTION

1.

Assam is one of the far flung states of North-Eastern India. The most conspicuous aspect about Assam is that it is little known outside Assam. In spite of her growing importance as the Eastern sentinel of Indian Union, only a few historians have cared to write about this colourful land of multi-racial stock of people having distinctive cultural background.

Assamese love their independence intensely. They were united in repelling mighty Mughals by Seventeen times and later fought against the Britishers, who had apparently come to help Burmese invaders but stayed on to rule the country. In Assam we notice the conflict between two forces: Traditional and Modern. The former tries to stick to the values of past, whereas the later wants to move with the forces of change.

Assam would have been a state of larger size and greater resources, if the tribal people

had not been alienated by linguistic, political and economic discrimination. Geography and History have made Assam a multi-lingual state and refusal to recognise this fact has been responsible for much of its troubles during the last Thirty years. If Assam wants aid and cooperation from the rest of India, it can not deny admission to people speaking languages other than Assamese. No culture can flourish in isolation and no language can prosper on the basis of segregation. There had been large scale influx of foreigners, both Hindus and Muslims from the then East Pakistan now Bangla Desh into Assam ever since the communal riots in 1946 and the flow has continued since. The measures taken by the authorities to restrict movement of foreigners from across the International borders had been inadequate. Naturally, people of Assam are very much apprehensive that they may be swamped by foreign nationals and are accordingly demanding deportation of those who have no legal right to live in this country as Indian citizens.

Assam witnessed a rapid growth of Muslim population long before the partition of the country, and Muslim Ministers during the time s

of Muslim League such as Sir Mohammad Sadullah encouraged Muslim peasants from Mymensingh and other districts of East Bengal to migrate into Assam. No wonder then that the Assamese are on the war path fearing that they might become a minority in their homeland.

Notwithstanding the fact that the Central Government has pumped money over the years into Assam, it does not yet figure in the industrial map of the country. It is handicapped mainly by remoteness from the country on account of poor transport system, lack of sufficient local investment and inadequate skilled manpower. Unemployment haunts the majority of the population because of the lack of local technical manpower. This leads to discontent. Educated youths have begun to join the ranks of the rebels.

Missionary incitement and secessionist movements supported by foreign powers have snowballed into major problem with separatist overtones. The various acts, which empower the army to act in case of serious law and order situation, should be enforced carefully as it will create more practical difficulties for a Government than

it solves. support of the people will be lost. Public relations become extremely important in insurgent situations. Military front should be opened only when the diplomatic, social, economic and psychological overtures have all been exhausted.

Although much has been written about Assam in the form of books, periodicals, articles, pamphlets and in news paper columns, it is not possible to include everything brought out on various aspects of Assam. The present venture is a modest attempt on the bibliography of Assam, its history and politics.

SCOPE:

A bibliography can never claim to be comprehensive. This fact has been realised by the experts in the field. This bibliography is confined to books and periodical articles. The total number of entries is 204. Material available in English language has been included. In the case of periodical articles, material available in languages other than English, has been excluded. Every effort has been made to include relevant material essential from research point of view.

The bibliography is in two parts:

Part I — is a brief introduction to Assam Politics. Part II — comprises annotated bibliography of books and periodical articles giving full bibliographical information about each item so as to enable the readers to trace out books and journals conveniently.

ARRANGEMENT:

All periodical articles and books duly annotated were classified by D.D.C. Scheme (18th edition) and this governs their general arrangement. For subject headings Sears List of Subject Headings (11th edition) has been used. Wherever Sears List failed to serve the purpose, some subject headings have been constructed keeping in view readers approach. Under each subject heading entries have been arranged alphabetically by author or by title.

INDEXES:

The bibliography contains a separate index of author, title and subject to guide the readers. Each index is arranged alphabetically with

an entry number shown against each. Wherever necessary 'See' and 'See also' references have been provided to make the consultation work quick and easy.

ABBREVIATIONS:

In the case of books, different abbreviations have been used as given in the Anglo-American Cataloguing Rules, 1967. A list of such abbreviations has been given in the beginning of Part II. Similarly, a list of abbreviations used for periodicals has also been provided in Part II.

ANNOTATIONS:

Every effort has been made to provide clear, concise and factual annotations regarding the information contained in the books and periodical articles.

INFORMATION PROVIDED:

Entries are serially numbered. The following items of informations are given under each entry:

BOOKS

Serial number
 Name of author
 (Surname followed
 by forename).

Title of the Book.

Place of publication.

Publisher.

Year of publication.

Total number of pages.

Volumes, if any.

Abstracts of the book.

PERIODICALS

Serial number

Name of author
 (Surname followed by
 forename)

Title of contribution.

Name of the periodical.

In original/
 Abbreviated form.

Volume number.

Issue number.

Year.

Pages covering the
 contribution abstract.

SPECIMEN ENTRY:Periodicals:

BERINDRANATH (Dewan). Assam: a way out of the
 impasse. Democratic World 9, 19; 1980; 5.

Analysés that there is no use of blaming
 one group of politicians or the other or any
 foreign power. The essence of statesmanship would

lie in meeting the challenge of their mischief. Future infiltration from across Bangla Desh and Nepal would not be allowed, and detection of infiltrators must be taken up. No year need be taken as cut-off year. Economic and Industrial development of Assam should be on close integration basis. All repressive measure must be withdrawn.

BOOKS:

DIHINGIA (Hemeswar). Assam struggle against British rule, 1826-1863. New Delhi, Asian Pub. Service, 1980. P. 157.

Narrates the ignorance of people outside Assam to know about this colourful land of multi-racial people, having a distinctive cultural background. Few historians have cared to write of Assam. The Assamese people love their independence very much and could not accept the alien rule so easily with the result that there were series of revolts against the British Rule.

—:HISTORICAL BACKGROUND:—

1.1.

Assam, till then an independent Ahom Kingdom, lost her freedom in the Second quarter of the Nineteenth Century. A civil war had been raging since 1761 and continued till the Burmese invasion in the 1820s. The intervening period had witnessed anarch conditions with severe dislocation in the socio-political and economic life of the state. Famines, epidemics, ruthless killings, worsened the socio-economic structure.

The British rulers brought to Assam a considerable number of Bengalis with English education to help them in the administration, because qualified Assamese were not available by the then. The Britishers recognised Bengali as the court language and medium of education. People from East Bengal migrated to Assam to man the office and also as teachers.

The Assamese, an easy going people, do not react sharply to provocations. As the adjoining districts of Bengal increased in population,

they cast their eyes upon the vast expenses of Brahmaputra Valley. Muslim from Mymensingh (now in Bangladesh) settled in Assam. The Muslim League Government encouraged Muslims from East Bengal to migrate into Assam.

The large scale influx of refugees from East Pakistan and Bangladesh, and the reduction of the boundary of Assam by the formation of hill districts, were at the root of discontent among the Assamese, who suffered from inferiority complex. The Assamese are proud of their language and literary attainments, and are apprehensive of Bengali dominance. The Assamese also feel sure that the railways, the banks, the tea gardens, Oil India, O.N.G.C. are all staffed with non-Assamese. Assam's rich mineral resources, namely petroleum, coal, lime stones, asbestos, iron, copper, etc. are not yet fully exploited.

During 1970-79, the increase in the number of voters was over 28 lakhs, this speaks large scale infiltration from across the border, due to deterioration of economic conditions and atrocities committed on the minorities in Bangladesh.

Muslim population in Assam:

1911	9.4%
1921	9.4%
1931	20 %
1941	25 %
1951	19 %
1961	34.4%
1971	35.5%

For decades Muslims from East Bengal have been migrating to Assam in search of land and jobs. In 1971, they contributed to 34.5% of the States's population. The figures has gone up during the last few years.

It is on record that immigrants from East Bengal had caused concern to the authorities as early as 1911.

Assam had been a Hindu majority state, but from 1921 to 1927, a large number of Muslims were encouraged to migrate from East Bengal to Assam.

The political implications became clear when the British government proposed of inclusion of Assam in group 'B' along with Bengal,

as this reckoned to be a Muslim majority area. Communal violence in East Bengal led to large scale migration of Hindu population into Assam, Tripura, Manipur and West Bengal between 1946 and 1947. This influx continued periodically between 1947 and 1950 as East Bengal was in a state of great unrest due to Muslim League's reign of terror and popular revolts at different places. There was also wide-spread economic crisis affecting urban and rural population. The influx assumed alarming proportions in 1952 and in 1964 following communal riots in East Pakistan. During 1965, Indo-Pak war, there was large scale exodus to Assam. Then in the wake of Bangla Desh liberation movement in 1971, several lakhs of refugees entered in Assam. After the attainment of independence, some of them returned to Bangladesh, but a large number of them stayed back in the house of of their friends and relations.

The proportion of Hindus to total population in 1971 registered an increase over that of 1961.

<u>1961</u>	<u>1971</u>
69.75%	71.04%

The Third major religious community in the order of numerical strength of the population in the country as a whole are the Christians, constituting 2.60% of total population as per 1971 census. Sardar Vallabhai Patel, the then Home Minister, mooted the idea of a National Register of citizens (NRC of 1951). Hence the significance of the 1951 cut-off line demanded by the Assamese students. Jawaharlal Nehru declared that NRC (1951) should form the basis for action.

The free movement between the then Pakistan and Assam as provided by Nehru-Liaquat Pact subsequently resulted in fresh influx of Muslim immigrants to Assam. The attempt to regulate the influx of Pakistani immigrants included the introduction of the passport-cum-visa system in October 1952. But the provisions of the foreigners' Act 1946 and the rules made thereunder were not applicable to the citizens of Pakistan and hence they were not required to get themselves registered. The Immigrants (Expulsion from Assam) Act, which was passed, was, however, repealed by the Repealing Act of 1957.

A large number of Pakistani Muslims entered Assam without obtaining the necessary travel documents and between October 15, 1952 and December 31, 1957, the total number stood at 13,632. The infiltration continued and it assumed serious proportions following the liberation of Bangladesh when some 12 lakhs of people crossed over to Assam.

The illegal immigrants, both Hindus and Muslims, numbering several lakhs remained a permanent liability on Assam as a result of Indo-Bangla Desh agreement. The agreement provided that India would furnish details of Bangladeshis entering Assam after March 25, 1971 and only if Bangladesh was satisfied about their citizenship would they be deported. It meant despite the mass movement for the deportation of foreigners, an additional 99,583 Bangladeshis who fled into Assam in the wake of Pak army crack-down in East Bengal, could not be deported unless Bangladeshi wanted them back. Regarding the acceptance of refugees who had crossed over to India from East Bengal since March 25, 1971, the Government of India states that these refugees should not be considered

for registration as Indian citizens under Section 5(1)(A) of citizenship Act of 1955 read with Citizenship Rules of 1956 and ordered the collectors to reject their application.

1.2. DANGEROUS TRENDS

The crisis has been building up in Assam since October 1979. The movement started by the different organisations like Assam Jatiyabadi Dal, Purbanchal Lok Parishad, Assam Sahitya Sabha, and Assam Students Union have certainly gone astray. Bengali speaking Hindus and Muslims and Hindi speaking Marwaris, Biharis and Oriya speaking Hindus from Orissa have been subject to assault, intimidation and brutal treatment. Exodus from Assam might encourage adventurist organisations in West Bengal to whip up the feelings against minority groups. 'Aliens' and 'foreigners' have been applied to non-Assamese Indians. The agitation has been spearheaded against all settlers, be they Bengalis, Hindus, Bengali Muslims, Marwari, Sindhi or Panjabi business community, Beharis, Nepalis. The AAGSP have raised such slogans as "Assam for Assamis" and even demanded that non-Assam Government employees, business men and students leave the state. Assam is troubled

by ethnic question long back from 1848, when there was an anti-Bengali riot at Gauhati and in some other places. In 1950 there was an anti-Muslim riot when about Five lakh Muslims were allegedly killed in police firing in Goalpara district. In 1955, there was an anti-Bengali riot through out the state of Assam. In 1960, a state wide agitation began on the issue of official language and continued for several months. Families were destroyed or damaged or burnt. Looting, arson was at the peak. In 1965, an agitation started against Marwaris in upper Assam.

One of the demands of Student leaders is constitutional safeguard for Assam on the lines of Jammu and Kashmir. This has serious implications i.e. every other state will demand so, resulting in disintegration of India. The Student leaders should realise whether we are Bengalis, Assamese, or Biharis, we are all sons of the same soil and have the same right to live, move about and earn out of living freely in any part of the country. The Prime Minister Indira Gandhi declared that outsiders residing in Assam can not be removed by stroke of pen. She made it clear that the proposed

1971 baseline should be the basis for determining the foreigners issue and the Government of India could not accept the demands for taking the decision. Propaganda by a communal organisation 'Amra Bengali' to include Assam in a plan for greater Bengal has strained the relations between the Bengalis and the Assamese. English and Assamese literature is reported to be in circulation in Assam instigating secessionism. Some of the foreign countries and Christian missionaries are working to whip up communal feelings. Allegations have been made that R.S.S. is involved in inciting the Assamese for the expulsion of the Muslim population from Assam. The principal political parties have become irrelevant and are virtually living under house arrest largely because they are not sure of their personal safety. The disturbances were not confined to Assamese and non-Assamese in Assam in recent years. There were violent incidents first in Assam-Nagaland border on January 5, 1979, followed by border conflicts between Assam and Meghalaya and Assam and Arunachal Pradesh. Tribunals by the Assam Government had served 'Quit India' notices on a large number of non-Assamese people in Assam in the month of February and March, 1980 and Bengali speaking people who were born

and brought up in Assam. Many of those people migrated to West Bengal with families and took shelter in refugee camps.

Since August, 1979, Assam has been blockading the rest of the country, other states have been deprived of diesel, Kerosine and other petroleum products. History, Geography, and Culture have made all Indians proud without pointing at each other as foreigners within our own country. The people of Assam must realise that their problems will not be solved by the expulsion of non-Assamese residents who have contributed to the economic development of Assam and enriched of its cultural life. Assamese leaders have not paid adequate attention to the realities of situation. If the foreigner theme is overplayed, it will create a serious problem. It raises a question as to who is a foreigner in any state of India whose very constitution provides him or her to choose to stay and work in any part of the country. India is common homeland of all Indians: Muslims, Bengalis, Keralites or Kashmiris.

The Centre has taken a firm decision and has declared that All Assam Students Union should withdraw the agitation. The entire Assam has been

declared a disturbed area. On April 6, 1980, the President of India promulgated the Essential Service Maintenance (Assam) Ordinance, which enables the Central or the State Governments to declare any service as essential in the state and to prohibit strikes in any essential service. The Government of Assam promulgated the Assam Alienation of Land (Regulation) Ordinance, 1980, which prevents acquiring of land by transfer, gift or will foreign nationals without prior permission of the State Government. The agitation in Assam not only seriously affects the national economy but also undermines national unity and integration. Adverse reactions have started in the neighbouring states. The Assam agitation had not only already jeopardised the unity of the country but the country has already suffered a loss of about Rs. 600 crores, the loss to the country multiplies at the rate of about Rs. 3 crores per day. Assam Government's notification dated April 2, 1980 reserving all posts in the schools of the State, numbering 353 for the residents of the state is extremely unfortunate, as it supports the 'Sons of the Soil' theory. If the theory takes a firm grip on Assam it can not be excluded from operations in other states.

Recently, Prantiya Morcha, a local organisation in Darjeeling is demanding the creation of a separate state names 'Gurkha Land'. Kuki National Assembly is demanding a separate identity for Kuki Tribes living in the Northern Mizoram and Southern Manipur.

Mahanat Seva Dass Singh, a former General Secretary of the Shiromani Akali Dal in a statement on April 10, 1980 demanded that non-Panjabis should not allowed to vote in Panjab.

A decorative graphic of a Christmas tree made of asterisks. The tree is composed of multiple rows of asterisks, with the top row having 11 asterisks and the bottom row having 1 asterisk, forming a triangular shape. The asterisks are arranged in a way that creates a sense of depth and texture, resembling a snow-covered tree.

—:MOVEMENT AGAINST FOREIGNERS:—

1.3.

The question of foreign infiltration in Assam dates back to the partition days. The Whole purpose of the present agitation in Assam seems to pressurise the Election Commission through the State administration to bring about a qualitative change in the State's population structure to favour a political segment as against those who had tolerated the influx of outsiders in the State because it suited them politically. A parliamentary by election in Mungaldai in March, 1978 led to public furore that the voters list should be revised and foreign elements weeded out. Out of 70,000 objections raised , 45,000 were sustained by courts after police verification.

Shri S.L. Shakdhar, the Chief Election Commissioner, at a press conference in September, 1978 stressed the immediate need for the administrative set up at the lowest possible level for the purpose of identifying each foreign national in the country and for expeditious grant of certificates of citizenship under the Citizenship Act to all eligible persons by adopting an effective

and uniform procedure. Resentment against immigrants was first noticed in 1978. The Congress was defeated. The C.P.I. (M) bagged 13 seats. The 126 member assembly witnessed for the first time as many as 34 Muslim members. play-cards and leaflets such as 'Get out Indian dogs from Assam', 'Sons of the soil', have been widely in circulation on August 15, 1979. The National flag was burnt at public places in the several towns of the state. On January 26, 1980 Assam's citizens boycotted all official celebrations. The agitators disrupted road and road transport. Postal, telegraph, bank services and inter-state trade and Commerce came to a grinding halt. Uninterrupted picketting of oil installations over several weeks at Dula Jan, Narang and other places led to the closure of refineries at Digbhai and Bara Uni. The demonstrators did not allow movement of essential goods to Cachar, a predominantly Bengali populated district. The term 'Foreigner' is used for Bangladesh (both Hindus and Muslims) and Nepali immigrants who have been coming into the state over the decades but in practical terms the agitation boiled down to a chauvinistic battle against all Bengalis who number 1.5 million

in Assam out of a total population of 14.6 million. The movement is also against all non-Assamese including the business community from different parts of the country and Hindi and Oriya speaking labour working in tea gardens. The basic issue involved is Bengali dominant over all aspects of social life and Marwari domination over economy of the state.

The early immigrants, mostly poor cultivators, had mixed freely with the local population and even speak Assamese language. The more sophisticated Bengalis, tended to a separate cast, not willing to speak Assamese language nor interested in Assamese culture.

Tea was discovered in the Assam forests in 1842 and attracted British Tea companies into the State, who recruited labour from M.P., Bihar, Bengal and Orissa. The number of tea garden labourers is 12 lakhs and the dependent population is around 50 lakhs, case of confrontation are taking place between them.

Broadly speaking, there are three types of foreign nationals . First, Muslims who infiltrated from former East Pakistan into Assam after

partition. Second, refugees of displace persons who have not acquired Indian citizenship either through ignorance or oversight or both. Third Nepali immigrants and infiltrators must be deported according to the law. The second category of non-citizens' is the core of the problem since Bangla Desh will not accept any one who came to India before March 25, 1971. These hon-citizens' run the risk of becoming stateless. Political parties found it expedient to keep a low profile on the issue, and collected the block votes of the immigrants. The Assamese are apprehensive that they may be swamped by foreign nationals, mostly Muslims from Bangla Desh. The Assamese recall that in 1971 when there was a move to delete the names of foreigners at the instance of the Government of India, the Assam Government did not comply with this directive as Muslim members of the State Assembly threatened enblock to withdraw their support to the ruling party.

Deporting of infiltrators has not been an easy task. Once inside the State of Assam, the infiltrators get scattered and mingle with the early comers from the same origin making impossible to detect the actual infiltrators. Another factor which helped large scale agitation in Assam was the inner line restric-

tions. Tribunals were set up in 1962 to try 'aliens' who numbered about 2,22,000. Suspected infiltrators are required to establish their citizenship before the tribunals.

—:CHALLENGE OF VIOLENCE:—

1.4

Between August and December, 1979 as many as 28 people are reported to have lost their lives in violent incidents. There were 320 cases of assault and 120 cases of arson. In January, 1980 it was reported that 41 persons were killed in Assam. Of these 21 Bengali Muslims, 18 Bengali Hindus, one C.R.P.F. jawan. In Nalbari sub-division alone 3,200 houses of Bengalis were burnt down. Shops were looted in Gauhati, Nowgong, Jorhat. Trams were attacked. Central Government employees of O.N.G.C., Indian Air Lines, and Railways were intimidated. A post-graduate student of the Merial College in Gauhati was killed in 1979. In November, 1979 a Bengali Officer of the United Bank of India was murdered. The cases of arson and killings had been highly selective and well planned. The raped women were both Hindus and Muslims. Oriya labourers working in tea gardens were

not spared. Two of them had been killed and houses of many were set on fire. Assamese students collected subscriptions forcibly from the non-Assamese residents for the movement. Cars and trucks belonging to the business community were forcibly taken away to bring pictures to the site and were asked to supply free food to picketers.

Muslim immigrants, who are mostly cultivators, are hard-working, they no longer want to declare themselves as Assamese speaking in next census. The Eastern Zonal Muslim League is of the view that all foreigners residing in Assam without valid documents should be detected and deported out of India without delay. The All Assam Students Union sponsored movement hinges on three issues. Foreigners on Assams electoral rolls, illegal election in Coachen and atrocities on agitators. The resulting chaos are a constitutional crisis, an economic crisis, the wrecking of academic life in the last quarter of the year and high incidence of crimes of violence. Criminal and anti-social make no difference between the Assamese and non-Assamese and unstable conditions help them to reap a golden harvest.

The move against 'Foreigners' has no other effect. Since these foreigners are among the poorest in the state, their pull out from electoral rolls or from the State itself will spur a more violent agitation against the non-Assamese ownership of tea and timber estates. This will be exploited by the ideologically organised parties to stir up more chaos.

—:INSTIGATION BY FOREIGN POWERS:—

1.5

Relations between India and Bangla Desh have suffered a set back at present. Bengla Desh Government has picked up a dispute in regard to a 44 acre plot along the Muhuri river about which India and Bangladesh had signed an agreement in 1974. Bangla Desh Rifles Officials rigid stance at the flag meetings to sort out the points of the dispute is a disturbing factor. It means Bebonia incidents had been instigated by foreign powers. A good amount of arms seized from the insurgents bore American and Chinese markings. It is alleged that some literature in English and Assamese has been found in circulation instigating Assamese.

Various Christian Church organisations are reported to have recieved carores of rupees under the cover of donations. Foreign agents, are reported to be active through their Indian agents, who are acting as provocators for fomenting trouble. President Zia-ur-Rahman, dependent more on the U.S.A. was likely to create problems for India. Inhereent differences like sharing Ganga waters, delineation of the maritime boundries, ratification ofland border agreement in addition to the current flow of refugees from Bangla Desh into the Assam are areas of potential tension between the two countries. An American magaxine 'New Week' shows Assam as a separate country. China can create fresh trouble in this area. It was alleged that in 1977 training in arms was given by the Chinese near Lhasa in Tibet. Another theory has been advanced recently of Pan Islamic designs in Assam with stories of how money from Arab countries and arms through Tibet, Burma, and Bangla Desh are entering this region to convert the disturbed area into a separate independent state. Even Bangla Desh has been greatly perturbed overthe politics of weapons in that country. It enacted the arms act in 1980 seeking recovery of unwuthorised arms in circulation. According to Civil Rights Body report consist-

ing of Three members team of Jawaharlal Nehru University. Anti communist powers of Western world may be actively involved in this movement and the whole of the Christian missionaries has been doubtful.



—:SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION:—

1.6.

The leaders of the agitation in Assam over 'Foreign national issue' have been given a chance to resolve their differences in the Centre in a spirit of 'Give and take'. Tension is building up dangerously and if it goes on much longer it will defeat the very cause which A.A.S.U and A.A.G.S.P. seek to promote the integrity of the State in the security as well of its people. Only recently, riots broke out in parts of Bengali speaking Cachar district of Assam. The army had to be called out to aid the people in maintaining law and order. Clashes on a much bigger scale had occurred in North Kamrup when thousands of people were uprooted from their houses and Assam Government is still battling against odds to rehabilitate them. Agitation in Assam has encouraged other groups, Manipur and Meghalaya to convene similar movements for expulsion of Nepalis, Bengalis and other outsiders. The blockade of trucks and trains momentary to Assam by the West bengal Congress (I) retaliation against picketing and Satyagrah by the A.A.S.U. and A.A.G.S.P. It is a warning to the Assam leaders what might happen, if they persist in their misguided adventure.

The Central Government had conceded as many as five out of their seven demands. Even with regard to the base year for the identification of foreign nationals in Assam, the Central Government is prepared to be as flexible as possible in keeping with the country's International obligations, National commitments and humanitarian outlooks. It would be unjust to deprive thousands of people who have been settled in India for several decades of their means of livelihood and, even more so, to uproot them altogether. The proposal of Central Government that 1971 be accepted as the base year for the deportation of foreign nationals in the state and 1967 for deletion of their names from the voters list is sensible. The Assam agitation has assumed for larger and grave dimensions, the entire country has become deeply involved in the trouble in Assam. It has affected every area of country's economy, its agriculture, industry and transport, are suffering from shortage of fuel and electricity.

The Central Police Forces and the Army are finding it difficult to operate because of the false allegations brought against them from time to time. Again allegation was made when the army was called near Gauhati to guard the oil installations that women were raped.

There are Five types of foreigners flowing into the region, and it has been suggested that two types of identity cards should be issued to check foreign nationals. (1) The identity card with voting right and (2) a work card for people who may not have the franchise, but may be allowed to live and work there. A work-card holder may after a lapse of stipulated period, be given the voting right, if his activities are not objectionable.

The Central Government must take up its mind and also decide what it wants, to allow the situation to drift would prove to be dangerous. Army and State police should not be involved in arson, looting, and rape and should be provided protection so that they can function effectively.

PART II

BIBLIOGRAPHY

** **
* *

ASSAM — CITIZENSHIP.

1. NIHAL-SINGH. The seven sisters.
India today 5, 19; 1980; 12.

The author analyses that the Assamese have a point in saying that they are in danger of being swamped by out-siders. But the Centre has been unwilling to resolve the Assam problem on the agitators terms. This would affect the concept of Indian citizenship, be unfair to minorities and shall have a chain effect. The Government and Assam agitators recognise the limits of each others' tolerance. It will take time to work-out a solution of the problem.

2. NORTH-EAST: signs of fresh trouble.
Link 22, 13; 1979; 8-10.

Analyses the demand voiced by many, including the old stalwarts of freedom movement for dual citizenship and for restricting the entry of out-siders. The Centre, has never seriously tried to understand the complex situation

in the region, the hopes and aspirations of the people. It has viewed the intransigence as a purely law and order problem.

ASSAM — CIVIL SERVICE.

3. MUSLIM League again in Assam.
Link 20, 11; 1977; 15.

In May, some Muslim intellectuals, lawyers and retired government servants of Assam formed the Eastern India Muslim Association. Muslims complained about discrimination against inadequate representation in various fields. The sponsors of the party asserted that theirs was not a party to fight elections but to act in the social, economic and religious fields.

ASSAM — ECONOMIC CONDITIONS.

4. ANWARA TAIMUR. People are tired of agitations. New Delhi 3, 17; 1981; 28.

Analyses that as a popular government has come, everybody is cooperating. Besides, people are tired. Poor have suffered most. In villages, now there is no agitation. There has been a good harvest.

5. ASSAM agitationists losing ground. Democratic World 10; 1981; 8.

Highlights the loss to the Nation because of the Assam agitation. Loss has reached the figure of Rs. 1,000 crores in terms of foreign exchange. The movement is showing signs of disintegration on who is Assamese and who is not. The Central Government is prepared for discussions on foreigners issue without pre-condition. The sponsors of the current agitation stand more or less isolated.

6. ASSAM: bleak prospects. Link 22, 21; 1979; 19.

It was a bad year for Assam because development work stopped due to state-wide agitation. The Lok-Sabha elections in eleven out of fourteen constituencies were postponed. The definition of foreign nationals, mode of deletion of their names from electoral rolls, as well as, their deportation from Assam, remained unresolved. The prospects of the tempo of economic development of this backward state is very very bleak.

7. ASSAM defies solution. Link 22, 37; 1980; 6.

Points out that the Assam problem is multidimensional. The region is an example of neglect both in terms of National integrity and economy. Recent visits of Mrs. Indira Gandhi to Gauhati and her compromising attitude on not to insist 1971 as the cut off year, is a political game and will temporarily lead to the defusion of crisis. It will not solve the broader socio-economic issues of the unemployment and stagnation.

8. DUTTABARUA (Munindranarayan).

A solution is possible but

Sunday 7, 49; 1980; 11.

Analyses that deportation of the aliens will not solve all problems. The remedies are economic. Negotiations must start at the earliest. Any solution must ensure that the interests of the Assamese are safe.

9. ECONOMIC impact of Assam agitation.

East. Economist 74, 14; 1980; 666.

Indian economy can not recover unless normalcy is restored in Assam. The Assam oil fields produce about 40% of domestic production. Import of oil has stepped up to make good the shortfall. Import cost is higher about 55%. Tea is produced in Assam and if this is disrupted Government will be constrained to limit export. Developmental policies in the State have come to a halt and plan funds surrendered on a large scale.

10. FRESH impetus to student struggles.

Link 20, 14; 1977; 23.

Highlights state-wide student and youth demonstrations and picketting. The demonstrations were aimed at problems of Assam namely holding of the price-line, nationalisation of foreign capital in tea and oil industries, setting of a third refinery, educational reform, land distribution pattern and flood control.

11. GOVERNMENTAL crisis in Assam: CPI (M)

stand. Peoples Democracy 3, 36;
1979; 1 and 10.

Mentions that the Janta Government in has failed to fulfill election promises. It has done nothing to improve the conditions of the people. CPI (M) had urged to check the price rise, to stop eviction of peasants from the land, and to stop police excesses. It urged to safeguard Civil Rights of minorities. Such steps would have created the basis for a stable government capable of serving the people.

12. JHAIA (Jaipal S). The flaming North-East.
Carwan; 1980; 19-21.

Analyses that for nine long months the civil, social and conomic life has been disturbed in Assam. No crude has flowed out of the state. The restrictions on the movement of jute and forest products outside the state continues. The movement leaders want foreigners' identification, to begin with 1951 as the base year, bu the Centre is offering 1971.

13. KAUL (Ranjana). The North-East.
Carwan; 1980; 21-23.

Analyses the causes, past and present, that have led to the recent emergence of chauvinistic sentiments in the this sensitive area. Paying serious attention to the economic problems of Assam is the crucial need.

14. PRICE rise sparks unrest. Young India
4, 30; 1974; 11.

Records that All Assam Students Union have demanded socialist economy, implmentation of land ceiling act, nationalisation of tea, coal, oil and plywood industries, loan to unemployed and setting up of nother oil refinery. These demands should be met quickly.

15. SARDESAI (S G). Meaning of Assam.
Mainstream 19, 1-5; 1980; Annual;
29.

Analyses that the Assam problem is one of the national integration. The monopoly capital accentuates regional economic disparities and its agents divert the consequent discontent into chauvinistic separatists and even secessionist channels under such slogans as 'Sons of the soil'. 'The United States of Assam, Liberated Mizoram' the backward regions are a colony of India', 'Quit Indian dogs'. We have to wake up and act before the fire engulfs other parts of the country.

16. SHARED instability. Eco. and Pol.
Wkly. 14, 28; 1979; 1138.

Election of Golap Borbora as the leader of Janta Legislature Party was a result of the compromise. CPI(M) and Independents are main supporters. There are various issues to be solved in Assam. These problems have led to regional politics. Issues of infiltrators, price-rise are the main complaints. On the whole, political stability in Assam is a remote possibility.

17. SHARMA (Joy Kanta). Assam: Barriers to rural development. Eco. and Pol.
Wkly. 14, 14; 1978; 133-135.

Notes that the economy of Assam is still dominated by landlords, and fruits of modern technology have not reached the common people. More than a fourth of the house-holds are found to be in debt in one form or the other.

18. TREMENDOUS response in Assam.

Link 20, 9; 1977; 9, 20.

There was a mass response to the week-long anti-price rise movement launched by the Assam C.P.I. last month. The Janta Government failed to check the price rise of all essential commodities and take strong action against dishonest traders and profiteers.

ASSAM — DESCRIPTION AND TRAVEL.

19. BUTTER (John). Travels in Assam.

Delhi, Vivek; 1978; p. 272.

Narrates the long continuous tours and sojourns of Nowgond via Kachamari, Diampur, Dhansori when he had the previlage to see the Civil officials and Village chiefs. The details mainly concerned population, religious occupation, revenue, villages, etc. of Nowgond districts of Assam and its surroundings.

ASSAM — FOREIGN POPULATION.

20. AFTER Taimur. Hind. Time.;
July 2, 1981; 7.

Analyses that no representative government is possible in Assam unless the issue of foreigners is settled. There can be no election unless the voters' lists are prepared. The Centre has shown ample patience. The ball is now in the court of Student leaders. Mrs. Anwara Taimur did not take positive steps to diffuse the crisis. No political party seems to have any influence on the Students Organisations which have become a force to reckon, their strength is far exceeding than that of recognised political parties.

21. AGARWAL (B N). The North-East.
Seminar 250; 1980; 33.

Notes that in Assam, following the formation of two regional parties i.e. Assam Jatiyata Vadi Dal and Pur Vachanliya Lok

Parishad, the drive against the foreign nationals and outsiders in the region gathered momentum. Student delegations were sent to different units of the region to organise the for removal of names from voters' list and their speedu deportatation from the region.

22. ASSAM: a dangerous ultimatum.

Link 22, 41; 1980; 8.

Analyses that All Assam Students' Union and the Gana Sangram Parishad have threatened without a bit of hesitation to issue notices to foreigners to quit Assam and territorial boundries of the country. They want a drastic change in the character of the movement, they would identify to those to whom they consider foreign nationals and forcibly drive them out of their state, as the Central Government was likely to reject their demands.

23. ASSAM: a sinister design.

Link 22, 30; 1980; 17.

Notes that the leaders of all the major political parties in Assam had agreed to 1971 as base year to tackle the problems of foreign nationals. But All Assam Gana - Sangram Parishad and All Assam Students' Union were taking tough posture. They demand the national registration certificate of 1951 and electoral rolls of 1952 as starting point. These demands have taken anti-national postures.

24. ASSAM: communal turn. Eco. and Pol.

Wkly. 15, 22; 1980; 946.

Analyses that the situation in Assam appears to have taken a communal turn. Muslim emigrants of recent or distant origins fear that they will be targets. There will be confrontation between AASU and AAMSU on detention, deletion and deportation of foreign nationals. Many people have died in the communal incidents. The implications of these developments are serious.

25. ASSAM: crucial talks. Link 23, 6;
1980; 8-9.

Highlights that the issue of foreigners may be solved at the current round of talks between the Union Home Minister, Giani Zail Singh and the leaders of the All Assam Union (AASU) and the All Assam Gana Sangram Parishad (AAGSP). The delegation from Assam decided not to talk in terms of cut-off dates. National Register of Citizenship of 1951 could be one of the documents in detecting foreigners. Another break-through has been that the situation can be solved only in package deal which is fair to all concerned. Now the Assamese delegations' demand is that surplus foreigners should be distributed over other states.

26. ASSAM: more infiltrants. Eco. and Pol.
Wkly. 14, 46; 1979. 1020.

The Assam Government has announced the setting up of Fifteen tribunals in different places. These will examine the cases of foreign

nationals. All the regional parties have criticised the procedure of involving the police in detection the alleged infiltrators.

27. ASSAM agitators charge Centre's 'ifs and buts' soured talks.
Blitz; 1980; 22, 7.

The leaders of the Assam agitation have charged the Centre with not budging an inch from its stand of 1971 as the base year. The Central leaders had been saying one thing at one press conference and then contradicting at other. The talks failed because the Centre virtually expressed itself in 'ifs and buts' with regard to the deportation of the post 1971 infiltrators and refused to transfer those coming in between 1961 and 1971 to other states, saying that the later had declined to accept them.

28. ASSAM cultural association.

Assam: the crisis of identity.

Highlights the causes of discontent among the people of Assam. Notes that the very basis of democracy is being shattered with the foreigners having been given the right of franchise. Concludes, therefore, that it is a national problem. Unless proper steps are taken in time to solve it, the problem of foreign infiltration is potentially charged and poses a grave threat to the territorial integrity of India.

29. ASSAM negotiations: caution needed.

Link 22, 53; 1980; 7.

Analyses that any agreement on foreigners problem between the Centre and the Assam agitation leaders should take note of the rights of the linguistic and religious minorities, their rights to live and work in Assam. The detection of foreigners, removal of their names from electoral rolls, deportation machinery to implement the agreement should over and above all, instill confidence in the minorities.

30. ASSAM question: the two houses
uproar. Link 22, 33; 1980; 4.

Observed that Assam problem figured prominently both in the Lok Sabha and the Rajiya Sabha. The Home Minister says that a foreign agency was involved in the agitation. The press suspects the CIA for the trouble. The Government of India denies about their involvement.

31. ASSAM stir continues. Current Events
26, 4; 1980; 211.

The stir against foreign nationals in Assam continues without respite. The students have failed to respond in a spirit of reconciliation to the offers made by the Prime Minister and insist 1951 as the cut-off year for determination of nationality of the people now residing in Assam. The Prime Minister pointed out the fact that humanitarian grounds were paramount in any move to dislodge people. The situation has taken a serious turn with the agitation termed as that of Assamese against Bengalis.

32. ASSAM'S ideas of march.

Sunday; 1980; 6, b-c.

Analyses that Mr. Giani Zail Singh, the Home Minister's visit did achieve a measure of success in persuading local parties to accept his proposal to treat 1971 electoral rolls as the basis for settling the controversial question of foreigners. But Assam student leaders have threatened to resume their agitation from March 3, unless the Centre succeeds to all their demands.

33. BACK to barricades. India today

5, 22; 1980; 27-29.

The Assam agitation seems to have come back to the streets after Fourteen weeks of fruitless negotiations on the problems of foreigners. There are clashes between AASU and the minority students union. The employees are not cooperating with the Government. The Government exists virtually on paper. The MLAs have been gheraoed.

34. BAGCHI (Arun). Assam: is there is a solution. Sunday 7, 42; 1980; 19-21.

Describes that during the Prime Ministers visit in Assam on April 12, she sought to overcome the thorny cut-off year controversy by suggesting 1971 for initiating the official procedure to detect and deport foreigners. The AASU leaders did not grasp the significance of the offer and ignored it. They insisted on the National Register of citizens which suggested 1951 as the cut off year.

35. BERINDRANATH (Dewan). Assam: our Bangladesh. Blitz; 1980; 20.

Analyses that powers hostile to India have concentrated their attention on Assam as a focal point for the process of balkanisation of the entire country. Big powers' interest is based on the presumption that once Assam goes, it would become impossible for the rest of the country to maintain any links with Nagaland,

Manipur, Meghalay and Sikkim. There are some grievances of the Assamese people, by the enemies are bent on exploiting the situation through every possible means. The urgent need of the movement is to give a credible impression to the people of Assam that Central Government does not mean business when it says that further infiltration would be allowed and foreigners would be deported.

36. BERINDRANATH (Dewan). The volcano called Assam. Democratic World 8, 48; 1978; 5-6.

Analyses that whatever be the outcome of the Round Table Conference on Assam, called by the Deputy Prime Minister, Mr. Y.B. Chavan, concerning 'foreigners' in the state, only miracle could ensure collections on schedule. Militant students are demanding that names of foreigners who have infiltrated into Assam from Bangla Desh and Nepal should be deleted from electoral lists.

37. BOSE (Pradip). Assam's frustration from neglect. Carriers Events 10, 11; 1980; 13.

Pinpoints the main controversy in Assam which concerns the question of the 'cut off year' ranging from 1951 to 1971 for identifying and expelling the foreign nationals. The question is often raised as to what were the Assamese doing for the last thirty years.

38. BOSE (Pradip). Why minorities in Assam reacted. Carriers Events 2, 12; 1980; 12.

Analyses that several lakhs of people belonging to the minority communities paraded the streets of the main towns of the four lower Assam districts. They submitted a memorandum to the Government demanding protection of their life and property and supported 1971 as the cut-off year for identification and deportation of foreigners.

39. CIA and the North-East. Link 22,
37; 1980; 8.

Analyses that foreign missionaries, the CIA and picketing are the forces behind the present ferment in the North-East. Sedition and secession are openly preached in Assam. There is an alliance between USA and China to achieve the common objective of helping the process of insurgency.

40. CONGRESS (I) Government in Assam.
Gen. Knedge. today 10, 9; 1981; 7.

Analyses that President's Rule in Assam came to an end. Congress (I) ministry headed by Mrs. Anwara Taimur was sworn in on December 6, 1980. The aliens issue remains unresolved and the agitators have threatened to intensify their movement. The bone of contention is about those who came in the decade between 1961 and 1971. The student leaders feel that the Centre will negotiate with the Chief Minister and her colleagues relegating office-bearers of AASU and AAGSP to the background.

41. DASGUPTA (Pradeep). The movement and the media. Sunday 7, 49; 1980; 20.

Analyses that leaders of Assam movement were anxious for wide publicity to project the movement's view point in other states. In Assam itself media is booming. Newspapers and magazines have increased, both coming in and going out of Assam. Press notes from the Government and statements of the agitation leaders can give a fair idea of the actual goings-on in the state.

42. DEADLOCK on Assam. Hind. Time.; May 29, 1981; 9 a-b.

Analyses that AASU and AAGSP have made it clear that unless the Centre comes out with more than three points formulae, they will call-off the talks. The classification of the foreigners into 'authorised' and 'unauthorised', legal and 'illegal' 'registered' and unregistered created misgivings and that Centre was only trying to legalise the illegal entry of the foreigners. Unless Assamese leaders relent, there can be no immediate solution to crisis.

43. DRIVE against aliens. Eco. and Pol.
Wkly. 14, 39; 1980; 1644-1645.

Highlights the agitation in Assam against outsiders seems to be hotting up and might even lead to the postponement of the elections. There are two currents against aliens in Assam: one directed against the so called immigrants, and the other directed against all foreigners. The immigrants include Muslims and foreigners include Hindus.

44. FLEEING the common man. Link 22,
48; 1980; 20.

The nine month old agitation in Assam on the question of foreign nationals has been used as a pretext by business circles to cover the usual rise in the prices in the essential commodities. Mill owners have collusion with vested interests in the dupply department to fleece the common man, and force starvation on the people in large parts of the state.

45. GOHAIN (Hiren). Assam: cudgel of chauvinism. Eco. and Pol. Wkly. 15, 8; 1980; 418-420.

Analyses that the recent disturbances in Assam have once again brought home this lesson that the presence of so-called foreign nationals has grown into a massive movement committed to defending Assam from an alleged silent invasion by foreigners. Chauvinism has been the deadly enemy of all radical and democratic forces in Assam.

46. GOHAIN (Hiren). Count down in Assam. Eco. & Pol. Wkly. 15, 21; 1980; 916-917.

Author analyses that mass involvement against foreign nationals has created serious problems for leftists in Assam. There has been massive propaganda campaign in the local press. The present leadership of the movement makes speeches against the CPI (M). Leftist forces must sympathise deeply with the Assamese masses. They must point out the real cause of their sufferings and try to find out solution. The

47. INDIAN Institute of Public Opinion.
Assam Crisis. Seminar; 1981;
257, 276-277.

The core of the dispute in Assam agitation is about the decade, 1961-1971 in respect of both detection and deportation of foreigners. No compromise will be workable because of the intense popular feelings in Assam. Agreement of this decade is a condition of agreement every where. This tragedy, therefore, remains that ever after one year, no settlement is in sight.

48. KALBAG (Chaitanya). Assam: over the edge. New Delhi, 3, 3; 1980; 25.

Analyses that the Assam agitation edged closer to ugly confrontation. The deadline for a decision on the foreigners' issue expired on May 15, with no sign of progress. Protests over repressive measures and victimisation policy continued. A secret underground society put up a 35 point programme for total revolution. A direct action programme was also launched. These are indications what lies ahead.

49. KAMATH (M V). Neglect Assam.
 Ill. Wkly. India 3; 1980; 6-7.

Analysis that today Assam is in turmoil. The unrest is a reflection of the long period of deprivation under the British Rule. Now the Assamese want to be masters of their own destiny. In this, they feel frustrated by lack of political power. Their greatest fear is that they may be 'swamped' by 'foreign nationals' mostly by Muslims from Bangla Desh. They decided to back out of the elections to Parliament till the names of such nationals were deleted from the voters list.

50. KAMATH (M V). The land of seven sisters. Ill. Wkly. India 22; 1980; 6.

Comments that Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura, Manipur, Nagaland, Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh are the seven sisters forming the neglected North-East region of India. These seven sisters

want to be drawn out from their self imposed isolation. In Assam, the agitation over the foreigners' issue has been long and painful, resulting in loss both for the state and to the country as a whole. Hardly a day passes without reports of ugly incidents of arson, lock-outs and bomb explosions.

51. LOUIS (Arul B). An open border.
India today 5, 12; 1980; 64.

Analyses that the key factor in the current agitation is the influx of a large number of foreigners into the state, mostly from Bangla Desh. Assam agitators estimate the annual infiltration at 300,00. The leaders alleged that border controls are lax, providing unlimited opportunities for would be infiltrators.

52. MADANI (Syed Asad). Assam and so called foreign nationals. Sec. Democ. 13, 5; 1980; 20.

Analyses that to comprehend the problem of so-called foreign nationals in Assam, it is necessary to go into the background of immigration of tea garden labourers, Muslim cultivators, Nepalese and others into Assam before the partition of India. Foreign nationals should be evicted only through a proper judicial process and the persons concerned should be given all legal rights before their names are deleted from the electoral rolls.

53. MEHMOOD (Hameeduddin). Assam: mounting crisis. India today 5, 3; 1980; 34.

Analyses that the agitation in Assam has not abated inspite of the change of the government at the Centre. The Assam agitation has taken a violent turn. They demand that

deletion of foreigners from Assam's electoral roll, and illegal elections in Cachar and atrocities on agitators should be examined in detail. The Centre should stop labelling the Assamese as secessionist, real issue is not non-Assamese vs. Assamese, but Centre vs. the state.

54. MAZARBHUIYAN (Nazrul Haq). Assam: the muth of foreign influx. Radiance 15, 41; 1980; 3.

Asserts that wild charge of foreign influx is fictitious, baseless and politically motivated. This is a myth created by the communal forces just to give minorities a bad name and deport them from the state as had been done during the sixties.

55. MITRA (Sumit). The elusive formula.
India today 5, 14; 1980; 19-21.

Analyses that the ten month old Assam movement against foreign nationals is in transitional stage. All concerned are shifting stands. The Assam movement can only wear itself out, as its leaders are not prepared to yield any ground. Nor can Centre deport a single foreigner to Bangla Desh without risking International complications.

56. MULTIFACED approach. Link 22, 50;
1980; 7.

Analyses that the Centre wants to study the situation in a proper perspective and subsequently resume dialogue with the Assam agitators. The opposition parties also discussed the situation created by the anti-foreigners movement. Wans about the dangerous consequences which might flow from these issues.

57. NAYAR (Kuldip). Why the Assam talks failed. Ind. Exp.; August 22, 1980; 4 c-f.

Analyses that there remains a communication gap between the Centre and the Assam agitators. However, the hitch during the talks was on a National Register for citizens, and the Assam leaders wanted this as the basis for detection of foreigners but the sides differed on details. Second, hitch was on 'foreigners' who entered into Assam between 1951 and 1961, State leaders plea was that they be first detected and then granted citizenship. The Government's stand was to give them citizenship straight away.

58. NO cause for gloom. Times; 1981; 6.

Analyses that there is no reasons to be hopeless about suspension of talks between the Union and the Assam agitation leaders on

the future of foreigners. The issues at stake are very complex. The gap between the sides has narrowed down. The difficulty now lies in determining as to which and how many people coming into state during 1961—1971 have in fact no claim to be there. The student leaders want this to be decided under the terms of the 1955 citizenship act. The Centre wants that a solution must adhere to national commitments, International obligations and humanitarian considerations.

59. NORTH-EAST dominates the debates.

Link 22, 46; 1980; 7.

The discussions in the two houses revealed that there was unanimity on the fact that there were foreigners in Assam and that they should be identified. The various parties differed only on the method of identification. The Congress (I), CPI, CPI (M) and the Muslim League took similar line and BJP, LD, and JP a different approach.

60. PRICE of peace in Assam. Sunday;
February 9, 1980; 6 b-c.

Analysis that New Delhi's anxiety to restore peace in Assam is understandable because of 78 casualties since the disturbances began last year, eviction from their homes of more than 15,000 people and the months of unchecked looting and arson. But buying peace at any cost seldom pays in the long run. What matters most is the definition of foreigners. Whatever the formulae may emerge with student leaders, concessions to chauvinism will only increase its appetite.

61. ROY (Subir). Beyond Assam: greater storms. Sunday 7, 49; 1980; 23.

The agitation in Assam is to be taken more seriously not because of what it has done to Assam but what it has done to the rest of the region. The demand for deportation of foreigners has proved to be the headiest of slogans and provided the rallying call for malcontents in the region who were looking for a respectable cover.

62. RUSTOMJI (Nari). The North-East:
emerging from isolation. Ill. Wkly.
India 44; 1980; 8.

Analyses that it is only in times of crisis that much attention is being paid to them. The country awakes to the problems of the Assam agitation over the issue of foreigners at the intervals of five to ten years.

63. SARIN (Aakash). What upsets the
Noth-East. New Delhi 2, 21; 1980;
6-7.

Secession is being freely preached in Assam. Bands of young men have gone to China, to receive training. Posters call for a war of liberation. The agitation of foreigners brought down two governments led by Golap Borbora and J.N. Hazarika. Educational institutions have remained closed for months. All developmental activities have stopped. Picketing of oil installations had led to closure of refineries. Regular nigh curfew continues in Assam.

64. SARIN (V I K). Indias North-East
in flames. New Delhi, Vikas;
1980; p. 194.

Records the geopolitical significance of this sensitive region and shows how various foreign powers are trying to make it cockpit of international intrigues. The influx of Bangla Desh's people has upset the delicate population balance of this strategic area. Explains how the drive against foreign nationals in Assam has assumed linguistic and communal overtones.

65. SARIN (V I K). The North-East
imbroglio. New Delhi, Vikas;
p. 194.

The trouble in Assam and the North-East has been mainly due to foreigners' issue. The Assamese fear that they might become minorities in their own homeland, which they do not like.

66. SEN (K S). Assam for Assamese:
drive against foreigners takes
anti-Muslim and separatist turn.
Link 22, 16; 1979; 23.

Mass movement for postponing the elections is going on in Assam. People are agitating against the infiltrators from Nepal and Bangla Desh. They demand revision of voters' lists. All Assam Students Union maintain that to allow foreigners to vote would be unconstitutional. R.S.S. is giving an anti-Muslim twist to the campaign which suits their ends.

67. SIRAJUL-HUSSAIN. Assam is burning.
Radiance 15, 40; 1980; 9.

Highlights that life in Assam has come to a stand still. There are strikes, bandhs and slogans. The question of foreigners should be settled once for all without loss of time and names of foreigners should be removed from electoral rolls and deported forthwith.

68. SITUATION in Assam. Carrers'
Events 3, 7; 1981; 16.

Highlights that both the Students Union, the Government, and the agitation leaders are declaring their readiness for talks but each side is accusing the other of imposing pre-conditions. The problem of foreigners in Assam is eluding a solution.

69. SUMIT-MITRA. Getting tough.
6, 1; 1981; 31.

Analyses that Taimur Ministry acted tough as there was provocation from agitators for her to do so. Satyagrah was launched . However, new tectics on the part of the Government are large scale deployment of the Central Reserve Police Force and the crack down on the local press. There is no possibility of negotiated settlement of the foreigners issue.

70. TALKS on Assam fail. Careers Events
3, 4; 1980; 15.

Analyses that the All Assam Students Union and the All Assam Gana Sangram Parishad have resumed their agitation on the foreign nationals issue following the failure of talks with Government of India. The leaders of the agitation in Assam have made it clear that they will come again to negotiating table only, if the government reconsiders its stand on the key issue of how to deal with the foreigners.

71. TALKS to end Assam agitation. Current Events 26, 10; 1980; 588.

Assam agitation leaders and the Government veered round to sit across the table in New Delhi and attempt to solve the foreign nationals issue, thread by thread. The Centre was ready for adjustment involving a final formulae and persuaded them to show regard to the constitution of the foreigners act.

72. TARKUNDE (V M). Assam cauldron.
The Radical Humanist 44, 2; 1980;
9.

The Assam agitation has defied solution since the last six months. The Assamese would like the foreigners to be identified and pushed out of Assam. It is born out of frustration of local people in getting employment. The 'Sons of the soil' theory is inherent in the agitation. It has been paraded under the guise of identifying the foreigners. Mrs. Gandhi flew to Assam for talks, but the talks failed over the base year. The normal life of the people, after all, has disrupted.

73. TARKUNDE (V M). The Assam movement.
The Radical Humanist 44, 4; 1980;
2-4.

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Analyses that the present Assam movement is confined to large and growing number of foreigners, mostly from Bangla Desh who

have illegally infiltrated into Assam. Foreign immigration as such became a problem only after 1950. Creation of employment opportunities on a large scale will reduce the gravity of Assam problem.

74. THIS must stop. Sunday; 1980,
March 26; 6 b-c.

Analyses that the transport boycott of Assam by West Bengal is dangerous. It will not have central sympathy for the Bengali position regarding the foreigners issue, but rather the reverse, which is a pity. The law and order situation in the state has been gravely prejudiced. In Bihar and U.P. there is similar situation. Interference with traffic and national communications should not be tolerated.

75. WELL done. IED: editorial;
1980, Aug. 1; 4-d.

Analyses that almost all the demands of the agitators for creating a congenial atmosphere towards the resumption of negotiations on the foreigners issue have been conceded inspite of the Prime Minister's stated version to pre-conditions. In that sense Mrs. Gandhi has gone more than half way to conciliate the Assamese side. The Assam leaders should reconsider their decision to continue the oil-blockade and the nation will appreciate a good gesture from their side in that respect too.

76. WHO is a foreigner. East. Economist
73, 15; 1979; 733.

Describes that the Government has set up tribunals for summary trials of those who entered into Assam without valid documents. There are about 200,000 foreigners in Assam as

per Government's report. It has asked the Centre for guide-lines on the definition of the foreigners. The Assam Government would not interfere in the process of preparation of voters lists. Election Commission should take care to ensure that the names of the foreigners were not included in the electoral rolls.

77. WHO is a foreigner. East. Economist
73, 15; 1979; 733.

The Assam Chief Minister Mr. Hazarika has written to the Government of India asking for guide-lines on the definition of foreigners. The Government has maintained strict vigilance on the Assam border and other sensitive parts of the country.

ASSAM — HISTORY.

78. BANERJEE (Subrata). Assam disturbances. Secular Democracy 13, 5; 1980; 15.

The current disturbances in Assam have serious implications for our country. The basic grievances are genuine. The current problem is to be considered in the context of multipronged. Sino-U.S. offensive against India's national security, territorial integrity, economic stability, and political sovereignty.

79. EVOLVING national consensus.
Link 22, 46; 1980; 6.

Analyses that the Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi is keen to evolve a national consensus on Assam. She is keen to enlist the support of secular forces to defend the unity and integrity of the country and is prepared to consider proposals in this direction.

80. HILL tracts between Assam and Burma.
Delhi, Vivek; 1978; p. 337.

Narrates how the documents collected relate to the upper Brahmaputra in Assam, Mishmi and other tribes living there. The hill tracts between Assam and Burma gives information between regarding land politics, culture and many other important routes.

81. SINHA (S C). Assam: a state in transition to modernity. Competition Master 22, 9; 1981; 555-6, 589.

Analyses that no other region of India occupies such a vitally strategic position as the North-East. Assam is the largest state with an area of 78,523 Sq. Kms. (2.4% of the country's total area). The problem of educated unemployed and the stream of immigrants over the years have given rise to a variety of political tensions. The agitational approach has inflicted heavy loss of crores of rupees to the

Nation as a whole. The Congress (I) Government with Mrs. Anwara Taimur as the Chief Minister of Assam hopes for a better and brighter future for the state as soon as the students prolonged agitation ends.

ASSAM — HISTORY — AUTONOMY AND INDEPENDENT
MOVEMENT.

82. ACT before it is too late. Link 22,
33; 1980; 8.

Observes that Assam is a sensitive area. Forces of regionalism, chauvinism and communalist are a warning to all patriotic Indians. Hostile forces are busy in promoting secessionist trends among the people. National parties should sit together and evolve a consensus to remove the genuine grievances of the people before it is too late.

83. BANERJEE (Parthy S). Violence brewins.
New Delhi 3, 18; 1981; 27.

There is a growing concern in Assam over the recent increase in violence. There have been dozens of explosions, bombs are often fitted with time divices. C.R.P.F. suspects that an organised terrorist's group is slowly infiltrating. Observers are even questioning the non-violent clain of the agitationists.

84. CIA in the North-East. Link 22, 46;
1980; 31.

CIA is behind the separatist movement in Assam. It's agents are in close contact with the Pro-Chinese elements. Set out to find and bring together the separatists' groups, the U.S. Ambassador, Mr. Goheen has been visiting Assam too often and taking unusual interest there. The national leaders should be very cautious about the game of the big powers.

85. CHAWLA (Prabhu). Assam and the North-East: the danger of secession. India today 5, 4; 1980; 38-39.

Analyses that while the majority of the Assamese people still consider themselves to be Indians, ambitious politicians direct the movement against foreigners close to secessionism. On August 15, the National flag was burnt. Official functions cancelled and cancelled and a separate flag was used. Assamese today recall that they were thrown into India not by choice, not following military defeat but through arrangements between the British and the Burmese King at Yandaboo in 1822.

86. KALBAG (Chaitanya). The North-East: Indias Bangladesh. New Delhi 3, 3; 1980; 8.

Analyses that one hears the echoes of the movement for an independent Bangla Desh in Assam. The situation in Assam is difficult and complex. The movement has acquired dangerous proportions of communalism plus separatism and is already on the point of explosion.

87. TRIBALS in perspective. Link 22,
52; 1980; 8.

Secessionist virus is spreading in Assam fanned by parochial forces. The CIA, the Chinese leaders and some of the neighbouring countries are said to be parochial forces. This is a threat to national unity and integrity. This should be checked by all patriotic forces of the country otherwise the country might disintegrate.

ASSAM — HISTORY — CIVIL WAR — CAUSES.

88. COMMON man's worry. Link 22, 45;
1980; 7.

Highlights that parochialism not only threatened the unity of the country but also weakens its economic stability. The secessionist agitation in Assam has great impact on the import of crude oil and price-rise. For months together oil refineries in Assam have remained paralysed because of the agitation over the foreigners' issue.

89. ROY (Subir). The murderous bombs of Assam. Sunday 8, 34; 1981; 22-23.

Analyses that the plans were hatched in Assam to take to terrorism. Blue prints were drawn up to assassinate leading politicians like Sarat Sinha and Mrs. Anwara Taimur. A decision was taken to raid the Reserve Bank of India office at Gauhati. Explosions in minority areas were taking place. Attack on public property, railways, pipelines and AIR were frequent.

90. SECESSIONISM on rise. Link 22, 22; 1980; 9.

Highlights that present movement in Assam is a question of detecting foreigners on the electoral rolls. They raise the slogans 'Mother Assam' and consider North-Eastern region as 'a colony of Indian Republic'. It has deep socio-economic and historic roots.

ASSAM — IMMIGRATION AND EMIGRANTS.

91. ASSAM: the melting pot. Democratic
World 8, 51; 1979; 12, and 18.

Analyses that Assam will continue to remain explosive and tense whosoever comes to power either in Gauhati or in New Delhi. This is because neither made any attempt to assess the political climate of the state. Assamese are worried that immigrants may out-number them and they may be reduced to a minority. They suggest that territorial boundries of the North-Eastern states of India with Bangla Desh, Burma, Bhutan and Nepal be properly demarcated and protected.

92. ASSAM and after. Democratic World
9, 28; 1980; 4.

Highlights that a national consensus be evolved about the issues raised by Assam agitation. Time would not be wasted on cut-off date. It is a fact that many people from

Bangla Desh infiltrated into Assam. Some of them came as far back as 1946. It is time that every one thinks coolly and finds out practical solution after problem instead of shouting at one another.

93. BARUA (P G). A solution is possible but Sunday 7, 49; 1980; 10-11.

Makes a suggestion to screen the entire population of the state and to ascertain the people who have immigrated into Assam since 1951. Some people will have to be defranchised. A certain amount of compromise is inevitable. The negotiations will have greater chance of success if along with the movement leaders, other important people from different disciplines and different walks of life lend support to the talks.

94. BERINDRANATH (Dewan). Assam: a way out of the impass. Democratic World 9, 19; 1980; 5.

Analyses that there is no use blaming one group of politicians or the other or any foreign power. The essence of statesmanship would lie in meeting the challenge of their mischief. Future infiltration from across Bangla Desh and Nepal would not be allowed and detection of infiltrators must be taken up. No year need be taken as a cut-off year. Economic and industrial development in Assam should be on closer integration basis. All repressive measures must be withdrawn.

95. CHAKRAVARTY (Basudha). Moment of truth in Assam. The Radical Humanist 44, 7; 1980; 24-26.

Analyses that East Bengalis were compelled to leave their hearths and homes after partition for an uncertain future in India. The difficulties of Indian Muslims who were hounded out of their homes after communal riots in 1950

and 1964 haunt also. During the Bangla Desh liberation war in 1971, about ninety million refugees took shelter in Calcutta and other parts of West Bengal. All but a few went back. A steady immigration continued ever after the liberation of Bangla Desh.

96. CONCERN over Assam situation.
 East.Economist 74, 22; 1980;
 1083.

West Bengal government expressed concern at the developments in Assam and urged the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi to deal with the situation promptly and effectively. The Government is worried over the influx of Bengalis from Assam. Communal conflict is raising its head in West Bengal.

97. DASS (Susanta Krishna). Immigration and demographic transformation of Assam, 1891-1981. Eco. and Pol. Wkly. 15, 19; 1980; 850-589.

Paper examines how many immigration has affected the population pattern of Assam. It explains the changes in the population since 1947. The increase has been due to:
 (a) Increase in the birth rate, (b) Influx of Hindu refugees from East Pakistan, and
 (c) Migration of Indians from the rest of the country to Assam.

98. GHOSH (Satyavrata). A generation of resettlement: the untold refugee story. Ill. Wkly.India 32; 1980; 11.

Highlights that there has been a continuous trickle of refugees, rising to a flood in 1972. The trouble in Assam is the result of this continuing problem. This is causing a great anxiety to the State and the Central Governments.

ASSAM — POLITICAL CRIMES.

99. ASSAM mysterious bomb blasts.

New Delhi 3, 21; 1981; 51.

An amazing thing about the whole issue is that till now the Assam police and the Government have not been able to pin down the acts of terrorism on any organisation not even on the Assam agitation leaders. The saboteurs have focussed their attacks on installations and not men.

100. DRAMA behind DIG's pre-down arrest.

New Delhi 3, 19; 1981; 24.

Hiranya Kumar Bhattacharya, a retired DIG, alleged to have been responsible for the troubles in the agitation, was arrested. He was brain behind the bomb blast. He ignited the fuse by publically revealing that over 40,000 voters were foreign nationals in Mangaldoi Parliamentary constituency. The Government has ordered a top secret inquiry to find out if he had been aiding for abetting the saboteurs.

101. GHOSH (Santanu). The 'Jackal' goes to Assam. Sunday 8, 34; 1981; 26.

Analyses that a wave of terrorism and assassination planned by the extremist bodies was let loose in Assam. The group is led by Maipak, code name 'Jackal' an intriguing man in many roles. He is a man behind the Manipur insurgents connected with the Assam extremists.

102. GUHA (Seema). Assam: violent death. India today 6, 8; 1981; 45.

On April 6, 1981 Mr. E.S. Parthasarthy, Commissioner of Assam plains division posted at Jorhat was killed by a pressure bomb in his office. This signalled the possible start of a new violent phase in the movement. The extremist elements are slowly consolidating their position to achieve their goals. A chain of explosions have started in government offices, factories, etc.

103. PANDIT (Tooshar). Assam: blood-shed. Sunday 7, 48; 1980; 22-24.

Disturbing news of more killings, looting and arson spread in different parts of Assam. The Police and Border Security Force had to open fire at several places killing a number of people. The most disquieting aspect of the current wave of violence in Assam is that it carries distinct communal overtones and is localised in areas where the non-Assamese are predominant. The agitation is not secular and peaceful.

ASSAM — POLITICAL PARTIES.

104. ASSAM: a balance fatigue. India today 5, 20; 1980; 42-45.

Highlights that Delhi talks between the Union Government and the All Assam Students Union and All Assam Gana Sangram Parishad have

brought a change. In the prevailing mood, they agreed to open schools and colleges. The Centre has not rejected the National Register of citizens as a basis for determining citizenship. The two sides will have further negotiations this fortnight.

105. ASSAM: 'Gherao' a damp squip.

Link 24, 13; 1980; 33.

Analyses~~st~~ that the gherao call was given by the All Assam Students Union (AASU) and the All Assam Gana Sangram Parishad (AAGSP) forcing the legislators to give written undertaking supporting their demands. They demand that National Register of citizens of 1951 and electoral rolls of 1952 be made the basis for detection, deletion and exportation from India. But it has proved to be a damp squib. The police prevented picketers from coming near assembly hostel where about 40 legislators were staying.

106. ASSAM: hot and the cold of it.

Link 22, 43; 1980; 8.

Analyses that the agitation leaders in Assam demand withdrawal of all repressive measures as a precondition. The Government insists on the suspension of the agitation before the talks are resumed. The Government is organising the minorities, claim their rights and thus helping the Muslims to start a counter-movement.

107. BORA (Somnath). Assam: seven parties launch campaign. New Age 29, 10; 1981; 2.

Records that seven parties in Assam, e.g. CPI, CPI (M), RCPI, Congress (U), RSP, SUCI, and Lok Dal have started political campaign on the issue of foreign nationals. The leaders of these parties appealed to the Government to take firm steps against communal and secessionist forces.

108. BORA (Nibran). Foreigners
classified. Link 23, 6; 1980;
8.

Analyses that leaders of Assam Gana Sangram Parishad (AGSP) have classified foreigners into three types. Firstly, displaced persons numbering 7,16,000. Secondly, East Pakistanis whose number is about 2 lakhs, now risen to 10 lakhs. Thirdly, Muslims who sneaked into Assam from Bangladesh whose number is about 45 lakhs including 8 lakh Nepalese.

109. DASGUPTA (Pradeep). What are Assam's politicians doing now. Sunday 7, 49; 1980; 18.

Analyses that the Assam politicians and their parties are virtually alienated from the people due to loss of contact and functions through insuance of statements. At the outset of the current agitation continuous attacks were directed against political parties. Their offices, copies of their organs and other documents were burnt.

110. DILEMMA for Assam Congress.

Link 20, 12; 1977; 18.

Analyses that APCC will decide the stand, the Assam Congress will take on the polarisation issue within the party at the national level between pro-Indira faction seeking to oust Brahmananda Reddy as he President and those opposing the move.

111. ECONOMIC blockade of Assam.

Carrers Events 2, 9; 1980; 17.

The Congress (I) decision to impose an economic blockade of Assam has caused a sharp reaction in the entire region. The blockade, its needs to be noted, was mounted two days prior to the Assam Bandh on March 27. A confrontation between the government and the agitators appears inevitable.

112. FEAR or the people. Link 20;
1978; 19.

Analyses that by postponing elections one after another the Janta Party is fast exposing its anti-democratic nature. The excuse was because of population increase and inconvenience to Muslims during the Ramzan month. Janta Party was defeated at the polls at Tezpur last month. It does not hope to win the elections in future.

113. GOING round in circles.
5, 17; 1980; 27.

Analyses that failure of Shillong talks did not surprise many, because All Assam Students Union (AASU) and All Assam Gana Sangram Parishad (AAGSP) were sore over a number of things. The draconian measures had not been withdrawn by the Government. The blockade on the outward movement of jute, and timber was promptly reimposed in addition to continuing blockade of crude oil and plywood.

114. GPYAL (D R). Assam will not burn.
13, 3; 1980; 11.

Notes that AASU has positively responded to the second invitation of the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi. They have suspended the agitation. They are not eager to be lionised by secessionist elements. Supporters of agitation do not like deadlock. At present, it seems that the situation will not take a serious turn, infect it will diffuse.

115. GUPTA (Barundas). Assam invitation to left. Link 21, 1; 1980; 81.

Analyses that the left parties have started making headway in Assam. The recent trend of the people to turn to the left parties assumes greater significance. The strength of left parties in the Assam Assembly has increased to twenty-five. There were only five seats in previous Assembly. Students are joining Left Students Union in large numbers. CPI and CPI(M) have come together. People are looking to the left parties with great expectations.

116. JANTA tries short cuts. Eco.
and Pol. Wkly. 12, 35; 1977;
1535.

Highlights that the Janta Party is not offering an economic programme which would have improved the lot of the people. On the other hand, Janta Party is trying to come to power through other methods. These methods were some times tried by the Congress Party too. Janta Party has opened gates for other minority communities.

117. MUKERJEE (S). Change in Assam.
Link 19; 1977; 20.

Assam Chief Minister, Mr. Sarat Sinha announced to resign from the Congress. The Congress has not done well in the Lok Sabha poll. The dissident group against him was determined to elect a new leader of their own choice. There is a possibility that dissident MLAs may resign enblock from

the Congress and join Congress for Democracy (CFD). Whatever happens , exit of Mr. Sinha and his ministers is certain.

118. NO BLD factor in Assam Janta.

Link 20, 47; 1978; 18.

Analyses that the exit of Mr. Charan Singh and Mr. Raj Narain from the Government and the subsequent revolt of a section of BLD which is loyal to Charan Singh. It caused little surprise to ruling Janta Party circles in Assam. BLD in Assam was almost non-existent.

119. NO truck with Indira in Assam.

Link 20, 40; 1978; 14.

Points out that the problem of the decade 1961-1971, is at the root of Assam problem. On this issue, the Assam agitators and the Central Government have not been able to find a meeting ground. The agitators

feel that the Government of India is ready to make any concession on this point. Suggests that a mid-term year, say 1967, should be accepted as a compromise year and all political parties be asked to arrive at an agreement so as to evolve a national consensus on the issue.

120. PANDIT (Tooshar). AASU prepares for battle. Sunday 7, 49; 1980; 14.

Analyses that the AASU have raised the volunteer force to struggle for a long drawn out affair with the government. The force has been constituted to protect and defend the Indian nationals from the onslaught of the foreigners. The force preserves communal harmony, safeguards economic interests, defends the culture and values of Assam, identifies the enemies of Assam and resist their conspiracies, fights anti-social

elements collecting data and evidences of various kinds for AASU. They have organised armed underground squads for achieving the goals.

121. PANDIT (Tooshar). Is the RSS active. Sunday 7, 49; 1980; 12.

Analyses that the activities of RSS are predominant in Gauhati and in Brahmaputra Valley. Regular drill is observed everyday. The proceedings end with a prayer to defend the Hindu religion. They hold series of training camps expanding its shakhas and campaigns to popularise its ideas and dreams. The RSS Chief and Secretary visited the Assam and preached communal hatred. Many AASU volunteers follow the commands of the RSS.

122. RAGHAVAN. A chink in the Assam front. Blitz; 1980, July 12; 9.

Analyses that the Assam agitation seems to have reached the plateau despite the fact that the AASU has launched a fortnight of state wide picketing of central and state government offices as follow up to the three day shut-down of rail and air services. The movement leaders have been emphasising 1951 National Register as the basis for counting the heads of foreign nationals for follow up action, including deportation, but Centre is ready for talks without precondition and not at the cost of unity and integrity of India.

123. RSS rears the heads in Assam. Link 20, 44; 1978; 40.

Since the last Lok Sabha elections, RSS activities have begun in Assam. Young boys in the Khaki shirts, trained in the use of lathis are seen all over the state.

124. The messin Assam. S.;
1980, Jan. 16; 6 b-c.

Analyses that the Lok Sabha elections were held in only two out of Assams fourteen contituencies. The AASU and AAGSP are not in favour of ministry because of this reserved apprehensions. Oil production has stopped and so many, at least thirty-two lost their lives. There is no polarisation of political parties and every thing seems in a state of confusion. No party is in a position to form a state government.

125. UNCERTAINTIES: horse trading in Assam.
Link 20; 1978; 15.

Analyses that neither Congress nor Janta Party has been able to an absolute majority in Assam. The stage is set for political horse trading. CPI has improved its position by winning one seat. An unexpected outcome of elections is the performance of Indira Congress. A sizanle section of Muslims and tea gardn workers had supported Congress (I). Ministry making will start within a day

ASSAM — POLITICS.

126. GUHA (Amalendu). Little
nationalism turned chauvinist:
Assam anti-foreigner upsurge,
1979-80. Eco. and Pol. Wkly.
15; 1980; 1699-1711.

Analyses the movement in its several
aspects. Draws some conclusion based on facts.
Movement is politically motivated. The students
are not its originators. Assamese upper classes
control the press. Movement has two faces: one,
non-violent and other violent against minori-
ties. Concludes that solution lies in closing
Bangla Desh border and not in deportation.

ASSAM — POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT.

127. A deceptive lull. IED. 24, 2;
1981; 24.

Analyses that stalemate continues in
Assam. All are waiting for what happens at

the next round of discussions. Governor L.P. Singh has been replaced. Resignation of the Anwara Taimur ministry itself has been a setback in the process of normalisation. The Janta Party in Assam has been trying to form an alternative ministry in the state.

128. ASSAM crisis for TUS. Link 20, 52; 1978; 25.

Analyses that the Assam INTUC, re-elected Mr. Kamakhya Prasad Tripathy as the President of the unit. The workers were dis-satisfied with the leadership. They complained that resolutions adopted are not acted upon. Demands that the organisation be transformed into a movement oriented one.

129. ASSAM: national consensus:
hurdles. Link 22, 44; 1980;
16.

Analyses that the Centre's effort to bring about a political consensus have failed as it being opposed by major political parties. The agitation leaders in Assam rejecting the call to end agitation have remained adamant on basic issues and withdrawal of all repressive measures directed against the movement.

130. ASSAM: the carrot and stick approach. India today 5, 9; 1980; 23-25.

Aanalyses that the Centre wants to alternate the carrot with the stick in its handling of Assam situation. It has kept itself armed with the necessary legislative powers to act swiftly, it is also trying to open up new channels of communication with

the leaders. But these methods have been tried before in defusing mass upsurges. The Assam movement has spread to rural society.

131. ASSAM: the vicious circle.

Link 23, 47; 1981; 25.

The Assam talks have become an end in themselves, where the emphasis from both sides seems to be to keep the talks going on at any cost. Any solution or formulae, if ever emerges, may generate for more problems. The people in Assam realise the importance of the concessions offered by the Central Government, but some people inside the movement are amenable to reasoning.

132. ASSAM agitation: Basu's concern.
East.Economist 74, 5; 1980; 222.

The Chief Minister of West Bengal, Mr. Jyoti Moy Bosu pointed out that non-Assamese and non-Khasi people are being evicted from their homes. This trend would adversely affect the unity and integrity of the country. Tribal agitators were getting support of foreign agencies in the supply of arms and mmunition. The Centre should check the lawlessness in Assam and ensure harmony among all categories of citizens. Discussion of all parties will help to ease the situation. Police and administration measures are not enough.

133. ASSAM getting tough. India today
6, 1; 1981; 31.

The new Assam Ministry headed by Mrs. Anwara Taimur has acted tough by deployment of Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF), instead of Assam police and cracked

down on the local press by imposing censorship. There was provocation from the agitators for her to do so. They launched 13 days Satyagraha. However, there is no possibility of negotiated settlement in the near future.

134. BAD start. IED; editorial;
1980, August 13.

The Imphal talks between Government and the Assamese representatives ended on a sour note. The Assamese spokesman, the official statement was friendly and cordial and both sides decided to start negotiations on August 18, 1980, at Shillong. The talks might fail if the Assamese leaders insist on every detail to be put up into action.

135. BAD to worse in Assam. S.;
1980, Jan 6; 6 b-c.

Analyses that in Assam peaceful picketing, resulting in loss to oil production, violence, murders are the result of agitation. The agitation is spearheaded by the student leaders demanding determination of foreigners from the electoral rolls. The Centre should take immediate concrete steps not to allow the situation get out of control, and so establish a just peace in Assam, thereby, in the entire troubled North-East.

136. BREATHING space in Assam. Mainstream 19, 30; 1981; 3.

Analyses that the breathing space of the Anwara Taimur Ministry has now got, should be used by it immediately for urgent dialogue with the left. An action programme

both at political and administrative levels could be chalked out to revive democratic functioning in the state. The new ministry should try to solve the foreigners issue.

137. CHANGING scenario. Link 23,
27; 1981; 5.

It is for the first time after 1979 when the Assam agitation started since the state government and its machinery is functioning. This has been possible due to a formation of a popular government in the state and streamlining of the administration. Students are losing interest in agitation and there is no response to recent bandhs and strikes. The Centre is prepared to start the next round of talks consistent with its international commitments and the interests of the minorities.

138. EXTREMISTS activities troubling.
New Delhi. Link 23, 20; 1980;
6.

Regrets the recent increase in violence in Assam. There have been cases of bomb explosions on the railway tracks and other subversive activities. There is a growing apprehension in New Delhi that whole of the North-Eastern region may soon face a serious threat of insurgency.

139. GHOSH (S K). Echoes from North-Eastern India. New Delhi, S. Chand; 1980; p. 171.

Narrates that although the political situation on the North-Eastern strip of India is fluid, the day today developments are dis-appointing. A strong affinity to ones land of birth is understandable but violent hostility towards the co called outsiders can sow seeds of disintegration of the country.

140. GUPTA (Barundas). Assam: drift and despair. Link 22, 1; 1979; 45.

Highlights that 1978 was a year of drift and despair for Assam. The Janta Party that came to power in March last, failed to formulate any policy in any sphere. There were strikes and lock-outs, power shortage, price-rise, and unemployment in the state. Ministers' orders were not carried out. There was political uncertainty. A mid-term poll may bring about a change for the better, provided left parties are able to sub-ordinate their mutual allegiance to the larger interests of the people.

141. INTEGRATED crisis. Mainstream 19, 16; 1980; 3.

Observes that a long range approach for dealing with Assam crisis involves an integrated application of the country's

development strategy. This will give them the opportunity to take their slogan back, i.e. 'Sons of the soil'. The step will be a part of the struggle for national integration.

142. JHAIA (Jaipal S). Fluid aliens to the fore: ana analysis of the turmoil in Assam. Carvan; 1980; 24-26.

Analyses that a call given by the Student leaders on December 18, to offer Satyagraha paralysed the function of the government and normal life. Refiniries were shut down. Markets, air and road services, Railways and government offices and other industries were closed. non-Assamese communities in the state have developed feelings of insecurity. The movement leaders insist that 1951 National Register of the citizens and 1952 electoral rolls be used to identify a foreigner.

143. NEED for a perspective. Mainstream 19, 17; 1980; 4.

Suggests that a bold perspective for the Assam problem be found on the basis of which alone can Centre expect any response to any positive measure, the Prime Minister may have in mind. The present mess can continue only at the cost of national interests. A well thought out approach on the part of the Centre will be discernible.

144. PANDIT (Tooshar). Mrs. Gandhi's velvet glove and mailed fist. Sunday 7, 49; 1980; 7.

Analyses that the Assam agitation leaders decided to emphasise integration and amity after bloody communal clashes. They did not want to provide any further excuse for a crackdown and decided to attend

the meeting with the Government. Many factors were responsible for softening the tone and temper of the agitators. The All Assam Minority Students Union was born. All Assam tribal Production Committee was formed to resist anti-tribal and Assamisation policy in Assam.

145. PATEL (Vibhuti). Another view of incident in North Kamrup. Eco. and Pol. Wkly. 15, 29; 1980; 879-80.

Analyses that the curfew was imposed in Kamrup due to disturbances. Army was called in to restore 'Law and order'. Army atrocities were badly resented by the people. There were reports of rape victims. The atrocities in North Kamrup have been condemned by all the organisations of Assam. The reputation of army has gone down. It is the duty of progressive and democratic people to build up public opinion against such repressive measures.

146. PRESEIDENTS rule in Assam.

Carriers Events 2, 6; 1980;

10.

Assam which has been in the grip of continuous agitation for a few feeks was placed under the President's rule on December 12. The Government in his report to the President says that by withdrawal of support by the Congress, the Janta, and the COI, the Hazarika Ministry shall be reduced to a minority and, therefore, lose the right to rule the state.

147. RAU (Chalapathi). More integration.

Link 22, 33; 1980; 7.

Analyses that the problem of Assam has two aspects: one is of the development and the other is one of integration. The development has not been even. In integration

too, slogans like 'Sons of the soil' are dangerous for the unity of the country.

148. SET for confrontation. Eco. and Pol. Wkly. 14, 49; 1979; 1993.

Analyses that the stage is set for a final confrontation. The Centre can only enforce the election programme and any such move will add to the anti-centre feelings in the state. The movement has drawn together the North-Eastern states. Demands are being made for dual citizenship, regulations to prevent the flow of people from outside. Idea of a federation of North-Eastern states outside the Indian Union has been floated.

149. STILL in a mess: editorial. TI.; 1981; 6.

Analyses that a precedent for the Assam Governor's decision to prorogue the State Assmbly and issue an ordinance legalising an appropriation bill would have to

be found. The dissidents have lost no time to raise the banner of the revolt against her. It is evident that Mrs. Anwara Taimur is unlikely to be able to consolidate her position and this must encourage the militants in the AASU and AAGSP AAGSP to hold out against a reasonable settlement on the foreigners' issue.

150. THE crisis that is Assam. Public Opinion 26, 1; 1980; 1.

Analyses the failure of the Central Government to reach on an agreement with the agitating groups because of the obstacle on the decade from 1961-1971 on which Government of India **has made** no concession. The power of the people in Assam is fully thrown on the side of agitation. A mid-term year, say 1967, should be accepted as a compromise year and all the political parties should underwrite the agreement and a national consensus built there upon.

151. VARIETIES of alienation. Eco. and
Pol. Wkly. 15, 23; 1980; 997.

Analyses that a feeling of alienation is present among the people of the region. The problem will continue even if some solution were to be found for resolving the present agitation. There is a feeling among the Assamese that they have not been able to get an equal share of the fruits of the development.

152. VERGHESE (B C). An agenda for India.
India today 5, 6; 1980; 60.

Analyses that there is a virtual breakdown of law and order machinery in Assam which must urgently be repaired. The problems are genuine and must be solved at national level. It should be possible to introduce a series of interim solutions with a longer term perspective of ten to twenty years.

ASSAM — POLITICS AND HISTORY.

153. BARGOHAIN (Nirupama). Incidents in North Kamrup. Eco. and Pol. Wkly. 15, 29; 1980; 878.

Highlights that Assam movement was peaceful in the first stage. But on January 5, violence erupted in Kamrup district. There complaints that women had been raped by the Army and the Central Reserve Police Force's personnels. There were large number of incidents resulting in the death of innocent people.

154. FALL out of opportunism. Eco. and Pol. Wkly. 15, 51; 1980; 2114.

Discusses that there was some hope of easing the tension in Assam. A popular government was installed. There was vilence before and after the ministry making. But blockade of forest products is no more. Gheraos

of legislators has been lifted. But the Assam leaders are consistent in their demands. The Centre is showing basic lack of seriousness in discussing the issues with them.

ASSAM — OFFICIALS AND EMPLOYEES.

155. DASGUPTA (Pradip). Assam: back to square one. New Delhi, 3, 8; 1980; 90.

Talks between the Government led by Minister of State for Home Affairs, Mr. Yogendra Makwana and an eight member group of agitation leaders broke down on August 18, at Shillong over the non-fulfilment of the pre-conditions set for the parleys. The agitation leaders resented presence of Saun, who is alleged to have built up the minorities counter-agitation scheme. They also wanted reinstatement of all suspended government employees.

156. HELL let loose. Link 22, 30;
1980; 17.

Points out that Assam is in flames and that life is at stand-still. The Government and other offices stopped functioning long back. Colleges and schools have been closed. Violence and arson continues. The agitators want to throw out the foreigners from Assam soil. Secessionist elements supported by external powers are very active in the state and are playing havoc with the lives of the people in the region.

157. PHUKAN (Ganesh). A solution is possible but Sunday 7, 49;
1980; 10.

Narrates that a dialogue may begin with the Assam agitators. Once the government doestwo things: one, releases all the detenus, two, stays all the disciplinary actions against the government employees. The students are

willing to consider the cases involving the immigrants who had come to Assam between 1951 and 1961. If the government does not act fast, it is quite possible that some people out of frustration may adopt more militant postures.

ASSAM — SOCIAL LIFE AND CUSTOMS.

158. THE seven sisters lament. News Week
46, 2; 1980; 17.

Analyses hat protests by Assamese against potential, cultural, economic, linguistic and political domination by Bengalis have developed into the largest mass movement. The Assamese want the New Delhi Government to deport all foreign nationals who came to the state after 1951 while Mrs. Gandhi has refused to do so. Demonstrators closed down Assam's oil fields by round the clock picketing.

COLLEGE STUDENTS — POLITICAL ACTIVITIES.

159. ASSAM: search for a package deal.
Current Events 26, 11; 1980; 653.

The main issue before the negotiators at the second round of talks was about the 1961-1971 entrants. The educational institutions were allowed to reopen. The non-committal approach of the government over NRC remained the main snag. The All Assam Minority Students pressed to reject the NRC. Both the government and the agitators appeared to have dropped their insistence on a cut off year.

160. ASSAM: what next. Current Events
26, 5; 1980; 269.

The deadlock in Assam continues. The leaders of the movement in Assam have shown rigidity in their stand. Communal colour has been imported to the agitation.

Normal life remains stand still. The nation continues to suffer a huge loss. No solution seems in sight.

161. ASSAM minorities carry Bangla glag.
Blitz; 1980, June 7; 23.

Describes that the situation in Assam has taken a violent turn with the launching of the counter agitation by the Assam Minorities Students Union and demanding 1971 as the base year for deportation of foreigners. Demonstrators carried the Flag of Bangla Desh and portraits of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.

162. ASSAM movement on the wane.
New Delhi 3, 17; 1971; 26.

There is now little response to Satyagraha calls due to lack of direction and frustration in the students ranks. AASU

is now ready to join tripartite talks which the students had once described as irrelevant. The agitation leaders are looking for a face-saving device.

163. ASSAM situation. Current Events
26, 8; 1980; 461.

The agitation by the Assam Students Union has brought the downfall of two popular governments. The agitators fear the prospect of being over-whelmed by Bengali Muslim immigrants and sticking to 1951 date for deporting all immigrants. Picketing of offices has paralysed the normal work. Earlier the Lok Sabha passed a bill empowering the President to exercise the legislative powers of the Assam State Assembly.

164. BANERJEE (Partha S). Assam movement on the wane. New Delhi 3, 17; 1981; 26.

Analyses that students seem to be tired of the agitation which gone on too long. The prolonged agitation has caused much damage to the state's economy. The buying power of the people has drastically dropped. Bengali Hindus and immigrant Muslims have openly refused to respond to the bandh calls and have opened shops and other business establishments. Another factor that hastened the decline of the movement was the widening rift between the AASU and the AAGSP, the government also deployed CRPF and was ordered to act accordingly.

165. GUHA (Seema). A green signal. India today 6, 9; 1981; 37.

Analyses that Mrs. Indira Gandhi gave the Assam Cabinet the green signal to initiate

discussions with the agitating student leaders. Given the current mood of optimism, the prospects of a final solution are brighter than they had been ever before.

166. MISRA (Udayon). Fresh tension in upper Assam tea belt. Eco. and Pol. Wkly. 15, 31; 1980; 1300.

Discusses the clashed between the student volunteers and the tea labourers. Tea garden workers were refusing to join bandh and picketing programmes. Labourers were suffering a great loss. They were persuaded to join the movement and identify themselves with the Assamese national cause. The foreigners issue is not so significant to tea garden labourers as it is for the Assamese peasants in the lower Assam.

167. MITRA (Sumit). Assam in a state of suspense. India today 5, 8; 1980; 42-44.

Highlights that on April 12, talks between the Prime Minister and the All Assam Students Union failed at Assam State Guest House. The disagreement was on cut-off year as 1951. The students gave a call of Satyagraha which paralysed normal life. Blockade on outflow of crude oil from Assam continued. The Student leaders demanded from political parties to issue statements in favour of 1951 as the cut-off year or they would be 'socially boycotted'.

168. NIHAL SINGH. Omen. India today 5, 23; 1980; 10.

Analyses that the Assam students had hoisted the warning signal about a year ago. Whatever the merits of their case, the Assam students have shown utter contempt for all parties and demonstrated their ability to sustain a punishing movement.

169. NO let-up in Assam. Current Events
26, 7; 1980; 403.

The students leading the Assam movement rejected the move by the Government of India to hold talks without preconditions. The students maintained that all repressive measures should be lifted. The Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi convened an all parties meeting on Assam to resolve the crisis. The meeting unanimously appealed to agitators to suspend the agitation and restore normalcy. This had no effect on the agitators of the movement.

170. PANDIT (Tooshar). Why Assam agitation must now stop. Sunday 7, 47; 1980; 11-13.

Analyses that the students are not professional agitators. They have legitimate fear about the percentage of immigrants in

Assam population. They have shown the signs of cooperation rather than confrontation. The army should be withdrawn. The All Assam Students Union and Gana Sangram Parishad should withdraw the agitation long before a point of no return is reached.

171. TESTING ground. Eco. and Pol. Wkly.
15, 52; 1977; 2.

Describes the thirteen days Satyagraha by the All Assam Students Union. Fears that this would have its after effects. Every thing has de-established . Colleges and other educational institutions have stopped functioning. Serious economic effects of Satyagraha will be faced by the people and the country.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA.

172. CPI Executive calls for talks over Assam issue. New Age 29, 2;
1981; 2.

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India hopes that no time will be lost in convening a tripartite meeting on foreign national problem. The party hopes that an agreed solution to the problem of foreign nationals and other related issues will be found on the basis of:

1. Constitution of India.
2. The citizenship Act.
3. International commitments,
- and 4. Humanitarian considerations.

CONGRESS PARTY.

173. ASSAM: no left turn. Eco. and Pol.
Wkly. 17, 27; 1977; 1043.

Discusses the victory of Congress Party in the Lok Sabha elections. The Janta Party campaign was not as intense as it ought to have been. The Congress is now demoralised. There are defections in Congress Party. Government has instituted judicial enquiries in certain cases. Correct leadership is necessary for exploiting revolutionary potentialities.

174. BANERJEE (Partha S.) Taimur's close shave. New Delhi 3, 22; 1981; 16.

Analyses that a fortnight of feverish opposition lobbying fails to topple the Congress (I) Ministry headed by Mrs. Anwara Taimur. Opposition charged Mrs. Taimur's Ministry as a minority government. She sailed through forty-three votes against fifty-three in favour. Mr. Taimur got a new lease of life.

175. BARUAH (Sanjib Kumar). Beyond patriots and traitors. Eco. and Pol Wkly. 15, 29; 1980; 876-77.

Analyses that emotions are running very high these days in Assam. There are only patriots who support the movement and traitors who betray the cause. There is a little room for any other position. Development of Congress (I) and CPI (M) alliance on Assam might be dangerous to the future of democracy and national integration in the North-East.